

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
FAR EAST COMMAND
MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART II

"FROM MUKDEN TO SHANGHAI"

(24 Oct - 21 Dec 1931)
Vol II

98-GHQA-2.9

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1 March, 1947. (see para 16 AR 380-5, dated
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Angus V. Rutledge
ANGUS V. RUTLEDGE
Major, Field Artillery
CIS, GHQ, FEC

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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapters 15 & 16
(24 October 1931)

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Translated by Miss Fumiko Segawa

On the morning of the 10th, I returned to Tokyo. I went to see the Premier, because Prince SAIONJI had said: "I will return to Tokyo after seeing how the situation is going to develop." I told the Premier that Prince SAIONJI had said that he would not return immediately to Tokyo.

The Premier was exceedingly troubled: "The dropping of bombs by the Japanese forces on Chinchou, has aggravated the feeling of the League of Nations towards Japan; and consequently, things are very disadvantageous for Japan. Before the session of the League of Nations is convened on the 14th, we must make profuse apologies for this incident. The Army has done an exceedingly disgusting thing. This is too embarrassing for me. I don't want things to go on like this. When I admonish the War Minister, he always says that he'll immediately warn Army officials at the site of the incident; however, Army officials in Manchuria are acting arbitrarily in complete disregard of the warnings of the War Minister. It seems that nothing can be done to rectify the situation."

I went to the Foreign Ministry in order to obtain information on the incident. The Foreign Minister officials were also very much troubled by the matter.

On the 11th, I heard rumors from various sources to the effect, that the Army was going to start a

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large scale cou d'etat, about which MORI had spoken sometime ago.

On the evening of the 12th, at 8:30 P.M., I was summoned to the official residence of the Premier. ADACHI, (the Home Minister) and the Foreign Minister were also present at the same time. The Premier had already talked with these two, before I met him. The Premier said: "I have just now discussed the matter with the two ministers in detail. The present day situation is exceedingly unfavorable. I have endeavoured, wholeheartedly, to better the international relations of Japan. At Cabinet meetings, I have frequently requested the War Minister to carefully keep under control the actions of Japanese troops in Manchuria. I want the Japanese Government always to faithfully uphold its every commitment to Foreign countries. However, when I especially admonish the War Minister about this matter, he always says: 'Yes, I am in complete agreement with you. I'll immediately dispatch orders to this effect.' However, Army officials act counter to this order whenever they find it convenient to do so. This sort of thing has its immediate repercussions in the League of Nations and the outcome is that the League feels it has been completely betrayed. For the Japanese nation as a whole, it is indeed an embarrassing thing. But, I don't know what to do about the matter. Under this sort of condition, I can't continue in my office indefinitely, but I can't resign right now. It is an exceedingly difficult situation."

The Premier thus explained his feelings in detail.

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He said he wanted me to convey what he said to Prince SAIONJI.

I left Tokyo on the 14th by the express train, "Tsubame", and reached Kyoto; I immediately went to see Prince SAIONJI. I explained to him: "The Premier and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal are begging you to return to Tokyo because the situation is seriously unstable. Will you please consider this matter of returning to Tokyo?"

I explained the situation in detail. I told him about the attitude of the League of Nations.

Then Prince SAIONJI asked: "Well then, within approximately how many days do you think I should return to Tokyo?"

In order to give him time, I answered: "I Believe that if you should return within 10 days, it would be all right."

To this, Prince SAIONJI said: "Then, I think it ought to be satisfactory if I return around the 24th or 25th."

While we were dining later on, I said: "I should think the 24th would be rather late, so I would like to suggest that it might be better for you to return to Tokyo around the 21st, at the latest."

Prince SAIONJI then said: "All right, I accept your suggestion."

On that occasion, Prince SAIONJI said: "A short while ago, UCHIDA, the President of the South Manchuria Railway, was here. He discussed various matters. I was frankly very much disappointed over what he said. He emphasized the fact that Japan must act in such a way

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as to save the face of the League of Nations and at the same time, be friendly with America so that we can repay America's goodwill towards us. I felt that President UCHIDA had a better understanding of foreign relations than former presidents who had never been in the Foreign Office. On this point I felt that he could be relied upon. However, I was disappointed over his unexpectedly strong opinions on the Manchurian problem. I believe that this has resulted from his experience in Manchuria and from the fact that the Army has placed some pressure upon him."

I told Prince SAIONJI what the Premier had said on various matters. That evening, I returned to my inn. The next day, I telephoned Tokyo to obtain information. I talked with the Premier and the Asia Bureau Chief, Foreign Office. I left on the noon train for Tokyo on that day. That morning, I again went to see Prince SAIONJI. At Prince SAIONJI's, I received a phone call from Lt. General BANZAI. He said that he had wanted to see Prince SAIONJI; but since Prince SAIONJI would not see him, he wanted to see me by all means. I had Lt. General BANZAI come to SAIONJI's place; and I met him. He explained the Manchurian situation in detail; he said: "We have to guard especially against movements for instituting a separate independent regime in Manchuria with Emperor HSUAN Tung (Pu-I) as its figurehead. From the Japanese viewpoint, Emperor HSUAN TUNG might seem a suitable person to become the head of the Manchurian Government, on account of the fact that he is the last of the royal family of the CHING Dynasty. However,

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the present day Chinese have no interest in such a personage. They are adherents to the three-peoples principles of SUN YAT-SEN. There are hardly any pure Manchus in present-day Manchuria; they are almost wholly Chinese. Therefore, in view of the prevailing political thought of China, it would be unwise to institute an independent regime in Manchuria headed by Emperor HSUAN TUNG. This would antagonize the Chinese severely. If the Army is going to try to execute such a plan, the result would be exceedingly unsatisfactory."

I conveyed the above to Prince SAIONJI. And I explained to Lt. General BANZAI the reason why Prince SAIONJI would not personally see him.

On the noon train returning to Tokyo, Lt. General BANZAI and EGUCHI, the Vice President of the South Manchuria Railway, were aboard. Lt. General BANZAI admonished EGUCHI on the Manchurian situation and the movement for instituting an independent regime in Manchuria with Emperor HSUAN TUNG as its head.

Returning to Tokyo, I met the Premier. The Premier said: "Count UCHIDA's opinion concerning Manchuria is exceedingly strong. Count UCHIDA said that Prince SAIONJI wholeheartedly understood his viewpoint and had thoroughly approved it. Is this true?"

I said: "This should be kept confidential; this is what Prince SAIONJI said in regard to Count UCHIDA's opinion: 'Because UCHIDA has been a career diplomat in the past, his opinion in regard to the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with the League of Nations and America is noteworthy; on this matter his opinion is reliable. However, his opinion on the

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Manchuria-Mongolia policy is extremely strong; I was rather disappointed by his strong opinion on this matter.' Therefore, Prince SAIONJI had not really said that he was in complete agreement with UCHIDA's opinion."

I went to the Foreign Office around 3:30 P.M. I met the Foreign Minister in the hallway; he was on his way to be received in audience by the Emperor. He asked me: "What did Prince SAIONJI have to say about Count UCHIDA?"

I answered: "UCHIDA's opinion was rather radical and, consequently, Prince SAIONJI seemed rather surprised."

The next morning, I went to see the Foreign Minister in order to receive recent information. The Foreign Minister said: "Last night, I met the President of the South Manchuria Railway, UCHIDA; he expressed extremely strong opinions. Therefore, I said: 'If you think your idea can be realized, why not take my post and try to execute your plan.' To this, he replied: 'No, that's impossible. In view of Japan's relationship with the League of Nations and the United States, that can't be done.' I severely opposed his idea of setting up an independent regime in Manchukuo. He mentioned the fact that he had met Prince SAIONJI and that Prince SAIONJI had said that he endorsed UCHIDA's plan. Therefore, I told him: 'According to HARADA, Prince SAIONJI was unexpectedly surprised by your opinion; I heard from HARADA that Prince SAIONJI was rather disappointed by what you said.' Count UCHIDA was very much sur-

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prised by this and said: 'I don't think that could have been true.'

Because of the fact that the Foreign Minister had mentioned my name as quoting what Count UCHIDA had said, I felt that I must explain the matter to Count UCHIDA. I telephone his home and went to see him around 10:30 A.M.

I explained my stand to him: "When I went to Kyoto to see Prince SAIONJI, it was immediately after you had left Prince SAIONJI's. When I asked Prince SAIONJI whether he had seen you or not, he answered: 'Count UCHIDA's opinions concerning international relationships are reliable, because he had been a career diplomat. I felt relieved when he said that Japan must endeavour toward saving the face of the League of Nations and the United States to a certain extent, and at the same time, efforts should be made toward maintaining Japan's international integrity. However, I was surprised because he held a rather strong opinion on the Manchuria-Mongolia problems. Especially, his opinion on the movement for instituting an independent regime in Manchuria, with Emperor HSUAN TUNG (Pu-I) as its head, is not very palatable.' In my capacity, I could absolutely never tell others what Prince SAIONJI has told me. However, in view of the present critical international situation, I felt that should Prince SAIONJI's opinion on this sort of important matter be falsely conveyed to the Premier or to the Foreign Minister, the outcome might be serious. Moreover, whenever the Premier and the Foreign Minister themselves, personally ask

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me what Prince SAIONJI had said in regard to important matters, I feel constrained to tell them what the Prince had really said. For this reason, I had related to the above what I would never relate to anyone else. I have not told too many people indiscriminately that Prince SAIONJI was surprised by your opinion, nor have I made any adverse comments about you. Please do not feel angry over what I had said to the Premier and the Foreign Minister."

I thus clarified my stand.

On this occasion, Count UCHIDA said: "The Government is considering convening a senior statesmen's conference to deliberate upon the Manchurian problem; I believe this to be outrageous. Should a senior statesmen's conference or a state council presided over by His Majesty, the Emperor, be convened, and if they are unable to cope with the situation, what is the Government going to do. This would be tantamount to tarnishing the Emperor's sacred prestige. The matter cannot be solved by this means. When I first went to Manchuria, I opposed the Army's policies; however, I came to the point where I had to collaborate with the Army. Especially with the young officers who are the central figures, in order to check their activities from the inside. I changed my methods to cope with the situation. The Manchuria-Mongolia problem is very critical today; however, when I returned to Tokyo from Manchuria and tried to explain the atmosphere prevailing in Manchuria, the Cabinet ministers seemed unable to understand the seriousness of the situation. Therefore, in view of the importance of the matter, I am endeavouring

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to bring closer understanding between the Government and the Army in Manchuria."

Because UCHIDA had brought up the matter of a senior statesmen's conference, I said: "Prince SAIONJI himself is not in favor of this senior statesmen's conference."

And I returned home.

On the 16th, I met the Finance Minister; he said: "I am trying to ready the budget within 4 or 5 days. The bill for military reorganization was sent to me today from the War Minister. I am planning to examine it immediately. I think this matter can be settled eventually. The reason why the Army is attempting to get Count UCHIDA to collaborate with the plan for setting up an independent regime in Manchuria is that the Army wants the South Manchuria Railway to provide the necessary funds for its purpose."

INUKAI, Ken came in the evening and said. "President INUKAI, of the Seiyukai; is very much worried over the actions of the Army. I recently heard a rumor, that because a coup d'etat was impending, President INUKAI had gone to HARADA to confirm it. Should it be true that there was such a rumor, the Seiyu-kai feels constrained to reform the Army thoroughly; but in order to effectuate this, the Seiyu-kai needs the support of other parties. It would be necessary to form a coalition cabinet. MORI, Kaku had come and said that there was a dangerous undercurrent in the Army. I told him that should this be true, it would be impossible for the Seiyu-kai alone to cope with the situation."

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In the afternoon, of that day, I met the Premier.

He said: "The Government is planning to solve the Manchurian Incident according to the following plans:

"1. The punishment of the outrageous Chinese soldiers who caused the Incident.

"2. The actions of the Army are for the purpose of maintaining protection for the Army itself, the resident Japanese, and the Railway, and also of eradicating neighboring menaces.

"3. After the above purposes have been obtained, the Japanese Army shall withdraw to the accessory territories of the South Manchurian Railway.

"4. The Japanese Government have no desire of seizing Chinese territory.

"5. The Japanese Government and non-official circles shall neither impede nor aid and abet movements on the part of the Chinese for instituting an independent new regime in Manchuria.

"6. Solutions for the Incident shall be found by direct negotiation between Japan and China.

"7. The general principles for solving the incident shall be decided upon by negotiations with the Chinese National Government.

"8. The detailed solution shall be decided upon through direct negotiations with Chinese authorities in Manchuria.

"Concerning the 5th item, in regard to the institution of a new independent regime in Manchuria, the Government is not in complete agreement with the Army; however, the Government feels that should the Army maneuver for the above purpose behind the screen,

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nothing can be done to prevent them. The Army does not like the idea of negotiating with the Chinese National Government for the purpose of deciding upon the general principles for solving the incident; they are demanding that the matter be negotiated directly with Chinese authorities in Manchuria. The Government and the Army are at cross-purposes on this point. When I summoned each Minister in turn to obtain his opinion on the matter, I found that they were in complete accord with me. The Foreign Minister is also unconditionally in agreement with me. I am going to summon the War Minister in order to obtain his final opinion; if he agrees with me, I shall present the above plan to the Cabinet meeting and determine the final attitude of the Government."

I left for Kyoto on the 1 P.M. train of that day. And on the morning of the 18th, I went to Prince SAIONJI's and explained to him the whole situation; after this, I told him about the story of Count UCHIDA. The Prince said: "It is a very good thing that you told me about Count UCHIDA. I am glad you warned me about him. I approved his opinion on the following four points: 1. The face of the League of Nations should be saved. 2. The relationship with the United States should be given due consideration in order to save her face and at the same time, in order to prevent marring the prestige of Japan. 3. There might be much criticism of the present Foreign Minister; however, by all means we must go on supporting him. 4. Since the present Incident is a critical matter, we have to go on supporting the present Cabinet.

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The foregoing is what UCHIDA had said. On these four points, I was in complete accord with him and consequently said, 'I am in agreement with that opinion of yours.'

"When you were here the last time, I should have explained what Count UCHIDA had said thoroughly. Because I explained it to you sketchily, it may not have been satisfactory. However, I believe I had made the above matter clear. There are some discrepancies between the various statements he made on Manchuria; however, I believe that nothing can be done about it."

While I was at Prince SAIONJI's, I telephoned Tokyo and spoke to the Premier, the Foreign Minister, and SHIRATORI. I first called SHIRATORI who said: "Do you know what happened this morning?" Because I didn't know, I said: "I don't know."

To this SHIRATORI said: "This morning at 4 A.M., those extremist elements of the Army — HASHIMOTO, Kingoro of the General Staff Headquarters, NEMOTO and approximately 9 others were taken into custody. They were arrested because their plan had been exposed. It is said that a certain Captain of the Azabu Regiment, was going to summon approximately 9 second lieutenants to assassinate court officials close to the Emperor — The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Imperial Household Minister, and the Grand Chamberlain — and then commit suicide by "hari-ka-i" in front of the Double Bridge (Niju-Bashi) of the Imperial Palace. Moreover, in addition to this, it is said that they were planning to assassinate leading members of political parties, especially, persons like WAKATSUKI, SHIDEHARA, IENOYE and ADACHI of the present Cabinet."

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Over the phone, the Premier also mentioned the same thing. When I mentioned it to Prince SAIONJI, I learned that many telegrams reporting the matter had come to him from SUGIYAMA, Shigemaro; TAKUNO, Dempo; etc., through NAKAGAWA, Kujuro. TAKUNO's telegram stated: "Please do not give consent to the resignation of leading Army personnel."

The telegram from SUGIYAMA said: "The arrest of military personnel should set an example in various circles." Through this news, from various sources, the inside and outside views of the matter can be well understood.

On the day before I was going to leave for Tokyo, I received a letter from a certain political racketeer (soshi) by the name of SASAKI, Reizan. In his letter, he stated: "In the near future, a revolution will occur. Last night, the home of a certain doctor (Hakase) of Kochi-Sha was searched by the police, etc." This seems to indicate that there had existed such an atmosphere (for bringing about a revolution). After this, I left on the 1 P.M. train for Tokyo.

On the morning of the 19th, I met the Premier. I explained to him that Prince SAIONJI had decided to return to Tokyo at his leisure, after having his health examined by a physician last night. I explained to him: "The date on which he will return is undecided." I told the Premier that I had reported everything to Prince SAIONJI. As usual, the Premier seemed to be extremely worried over the attitude of the Army.

I went to the Foreign Ministry. The younger officials of the Foreign Ministry seem to have become

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more sympathetic with the Army and they talked as though they felt that there was nothing dangerous in the present situation.

That evening, while I was dining with SHIRATORI, Toshio; MORI, Kaku came and urged: "The Cabinet has to be changed, otherwise, the situation cannot be settled."

After MORI, Kaku left, UCHIDA, Shinya came and said: "The speech of President INUKAI (of Seiyu-kai) made at the party caucus was exceedingly popular. He said that under the present critical situation, the Government must be given full support until the situation had become settled. He did not speak well of the actions of MORI, Kaku and others, the extremists of the party."

Later that evening, INUKAI, Ken came and talked about the political situation. He asked SHIRATORI about present-day diplomatic relations and returned home.

Still later that evening, newspaper reporters came and questioned me about various rumors. That night, I had to stay up till late.

On the following day, the 20th, the Emperor was scheduled to visit the new building of the Metropolitan Police Office. Sometime before this, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police had said to me.

"It would be most fortunate should the Emperor give a message to the police in general....."

Therefore, I had spoken to the Imperial Household Minister about the matter. But under the present circumstances military circles are not thinking well even of the idea of the Emperor visiting the Metropoli-

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tan Police Office. Now, should the Emperor give a message or say something formal, under present conditions, the effect would be unfavorable -- though in itself, it is desirable. For this reason, I told the Metropolitan Police Chief that the Emperor could not give out a message.

The visit of the Emperor to the Metropolitan Police was concluded without any untoward events. However, on that day, a great many rumors were rampant. There were rumors of a plan to throw bombs into the Imperial Palace during the Emperor's absence; that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had been killed; and that ADACHI, the Home Minister, had also been killed.

At noon of the 20th I dined with Lt. General MATSUI, Iwane, at the Kuwana. He spoke on various matters; he said: "The present Cabinet must be changed as soon as possible. The antipathy of the Army towards WAKATSUKI (Premier) and SHIDEHARA (Foreign Minister) is extremely severe. I feel that should a coalition cabinet of the Minseito and Seiyukai, with ADACHI as Premier, and INUKAI as Vice-Premier, be formed, everything would work satisfactorily. Can't something be done to effectuate this?"

I just listened to Lt. General MATSUI's statement, but made no comments thereon.

He continued: "It seems that Lt. Colonel HASHIMOTO, Kingoro, of the General Staff Headquarters is very much worried over the outcome of the recent incident (the October arrest of Army officers). It is the truth that he went to Lt. General ARAKI sometime ago and

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requested of him: 'I want you to lead a movement opposing the present military set-up.' In considering this problem from various angles, I came to the conclusion that it is the outcome of an extremely bad personnel administration in the present War Ministry. The Chief of the General Staff is a misfit for his post. This sort of a thing resulted from an unsound personnel administration."

He greatly commended General MUTO and several other persons.

Later in the afternoon, (around 3:30 P.M.) I the Premier. He discussed the policy of the Government for coping with the Manchurian Incident; the Chinese Government representatives with whom Japan was negotiating; the recent October Incident within the Army; the report the War Ministry presented to the Emperor on the matter; and the Government's action thereon.

The Army is desirous of minimizing this Incident within the Army as a matter of slight significance. The Army is saying that this sort of thing resulted from the maladministration of the present Government; they are saying that the thoughts which motivated the officers (in the October Incident) were exceedingly pure. Consequently, they want to handle the case as a matter of minor importance (in order to let the officers involved in the case go scot-free). The Premier WAKATSUKI was greatly worried thereupon.

In the evening the Chief of the Metropolitan Police came to see me and said: "I'm planning to take

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TAKUNO, Denpu into custody on a charge of lese majeste. In regard to the recent (October) Incident within the Army, the general intentions of the high Army authorities are obscure; and consequently, I can't do a thing about it."

I again left for Kyoto on the noon train of the 21st. I went to see Prince SAIONJI and explained to him that there is a rumor that the ADACHI faction within the Minseito, which is opposed to the financial policy of Finance Minister INOUE, might take a certain action; according to MORI, Kaku, the actions of SEKIYA, the Vice-Minister of the Imperial Household Ministry, had produced a very bad impression in various circles, which had a bad effect for the Imperial Household Ministry; the speech of President INUKAI (of the Seiyukai) which stated that the Seiyukai must endeavor to support the Government until the Manchurian Incident was diplomatically solved in order to overcome the present critical international situation, was well acclaimed; the details of the recent (October) Incident.

Prince SAIONJI said: "I had my health examined by Dr. KATSUNUMA; he said that it would be better for my health to go to Okitsu. There is no special reason for me to return to Tokyo; therefore, I'm going to stay at Okitsu (in Shizuoka-Ken). Please notify relevant persons in Tokyo about this."

I called KIDO (at Tokyo) by phone and asked him to convey this message to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

On the evening of the 29th, I unexpectedly met

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Count KIYOURA at the entrance of the Kinsui; he said: "The weather of Kyoto will gradually become inclement hereafter; therefore, wouldn't it be better for Prince SAIONJI to go to Okitsu as soon as possible?"

I also mentioned this fact to KIDO over the telephone. I felt that even after Prince SAIONJI had returned to Okitsu, the situation might be dangerous for him in view of the disturbing rampancy of rumors. I contemplated requesting the War Minister to have gendarmes (Kempeitai) guard Prince SAIONJI. When I told the Prince about this plan, he gave his consent to it.

On the morning of the 22nd, I telephoned Tokyo. I heard that DRUMMOND had presented SUGIMURA, the Japanese Envoy at Geneva, with 3 alternative proposals: the first, that Japan shall withdraw her forces as soon as the League guaranteed security (for Japanese interests in Manchuria); the second, that should the 5 conditions presented by Japan be accepted, Japanese forces shall simultaneously be withdrawn; no (immediate) time limit (for fulfilling the above condition) shall be set, but the actual content of negotiations between Japan and China, which shall be started after Japan's withdrawal of forces, shall be reported to the League of Nations; and the third, should Japan not accept either of the above proposals, she will have to accept the decision of the Assembly of the League of Nations which will be made at some future date. Informally, DRUMMOND had asked SUGIMURA which choice Japan would take.

According to SAIRATORI, Toshio, when Ambassador YOSHIZAWA was confronted with a proposal of like nature

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by BRIAND, he answered: "That's unacceptable;" and then reported the content thereof to the Japanese Government, whereas he should have immediately answered that he felt that it was alright but he would seek instructions from the Japanese Government before making a formal reply.

Because of YOSHIKAWA's incompetent handling of the matter, BRIAND thought that his original proposal was unacceptable and eventually presented a most undesirable plan in its stead.

I explained the above matter to Prince SAIONJI. The DRUMMOND plan, which was proposed prior to the most undesirable plan (of BRIAND) was agreeable to the Army; and at the time I went to Kyoto to see Prince SAIONJI the general atmosphere was rosy.

But when I returned to Tokyo from Kyoto the situation had turned for the worse. It seemed that nothing could be done to better the situation. The Premier was thoroughly worried over the matter. The Premier asked whether he couldn't see Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu. I said that if he had any positive plan for coping with the present situation, I would like to hear it and convey it to Prince SAIONJI. I also said that if the Premier had anything positive to discuss with Prince SAIONJI, the Prince might possibly come to Tokyo. I explained that the reason the Prince didn't voluntarily come to Tokyo was because he feared that should he come without any positive reason it might create unwelcome suspicions. The Premier said: "I have nothing I want to discuss with him now. If there is a suitable person, I would like to resign from

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my present post; however, under the present circumstances, I am asked to remain in office by all means. And as long as I am the Premier, I can't permit any more persons from the opposing party (Seiyukai) to enter the Cabinet."

The Premier also complained: "At today's Cabinet meeting, the War Minister, MINAMI, Jiro said an exceedingly outrageous thing; in regard to the League of Nations. He said: 'There is no need for paying deference to the League of Nations; there should be no objection to seceding from the League. Should Japan be determined to wage war against the whole world, this (secession from the League) can be readily done. I'll excuse myself now, because I've been invited to the marriage of Prince RIKEN.' And he left the Cabinet meeting. I'm really troubled because he is such an irresponsible person."

The next day, I again went to Kyoto on the 1 P.M. train; and the next day, accompanying the Prince, we returned to Okitsu on the express train, Fuji, which left Kyoto at 8:20 A.M. in the morning. At the Kyoto Station, I met KOISO, Kuniaki, the Military Affairs Bureau Chief of the War Ministry, who had come to Kyoto to give a lecture. He saluted Prince SAIONJI. On board the train he explained to the Prince that the Premier was thoroughly worried over the situation. KOISO also reiterated that it would be seriously dangerous for the present Cabinet to face the coming Diet session. And he talked about inconsequential matters. In the meantime, the train reached Shizuoka. When we alighted from the train

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and were about to get into the car, the Governor of Shizuoka-Ken came to me and said: "This is confidential: The Premier has asked whether he could be permitted to see Prince SAIONJI tomorrow; he wants to know whether it is permissible."

In the car, I conveyed this to Prince SAIONJI; he said: "Please reply that I shall expect him...."

When we reached Okitsu, I conveyed this answer to the Governor.

Prince SAIONJI said to me: "I don't know what the Premier is going to say when he comes here; but please stay here until he returns (to Tokyo)."

Therefore, I remained at Prince SAIONJI's, until the evening of the following day. The Premier arrived around 2:30 P.M., talked with Prince SAIONJI until around 5 P.M., and left. After the Premier had left, I went to see Prince SAIONJI; he said: "To put it briefly, it seems as if the Premier had come to express complaints. However, he does have a good understanding of the situation. His talk was a summary of what you had reported to me up to the present. He is really worried. He said: 'I'll do the best I can.' So I gave him much encouragement."

I left Okitsu Station along with the Premier on the 6 o'clock train, transferred to the express train, Tsubame, at Numazu Station and returned to Tokyo.

When I reached my home, MORI, Kaku called me by telephone and said: "According to what I hear, it seems that the Premier talked for a long while with Prince SAIONJI; but this isn't true, is it? Didn't he talk for about 2½ hours? What did he talk about?"

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When I answered: "I don't know what he especially talked about," MORI was extremely angered and said: "What are you trying to tell me. It seems Prince SAIONJI has encouraged the Premier!"

Therefore, I told him: "When the Premier himself goes to Prince SAIONJI and expatiates over the political situation, the Prince has to say. 'Well, do the best you can'"

To this, MORI said: "Indeed, so it is."

On the morning of the 29th, I went to Lt. General ARAKI's and heard various matters from him from 7 A.M. to past 9 A.M. According to him, nothing concrete had occurred in this recent (October) Incident of the Army. Lt. General ARAKI had heard that Army officers had gathered together and were deliberating while drinking sake; he also heard that they were very indignant over something. Therefore, on the evening of the 16th, Lt. General ARAKI went to a certain place where Lt. Colonel HASHIMOTO, Kingoro and others of the General Staff Headquarters and War Ministry had met to drink; he told them: "Nothing can be effectuated by airing your opinions here while drinking sake and becoming drunk. Moreover, as I have always told you, you must refrain from doing anything violent or thoughtless. The Army officers of Japan are the so-called Kusanagi Sword (a legendary sword by which an ancient royal Prince conquered the rebellious people of Japan); the Kusanagi Sword should always be polished; but it should not be indiscriminately drawn from its scabbard. It is almost inconceivable that I should have to come here in military uniform where you are drinking sake in order to

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admonish you on this sort of matter. You must be more discreet."

When the War Minister heard this, he immediately became worried and said: "Something must be done about them...."

Consequently, the Commander-in-Chief of the gendarmerie (Kempei Tai) became likewise worried and said: "They must be secluded from outside influences by being taken into protective custody."

Concerning the above mentioned outside influences, ARAKI stressed the fact that: "KITA, Ikki is a dangerous person, because he is exercising the greatest influence (over the Army officers). Certain members of political parties are also influencing them. The fact that they are instigating the pure and naive officers is vexing."

After listening to what ARAKI had to say for 2 hours, it seemed that nothing serious would happen immediately. However, it is a matter of fact that young officers are to a great extent aggrieved over the present-day political corruption. It is difficult to predict when and under what influence they might take serious action; this is a delicate matter to judge.

When I returned home from Lt. General ARAKI's place around 9:30 A.M., a telegram came from Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu; it stated: "Please come immediately."

I boarded the 10 A.M. 2nd & 3rd class express train and went to Shizuoka. At the station, I got on the car which had come to fetch me and reached Prince SAIONJI's around 2:30 P.M. Prince SAIONJI was talking

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with MATSUOKA, Yosuke; however, in the middle of the talk, Prince SAIONJI came out to me and said: "Last evening, Hachiro (son of Prince SAIONJI) suddenly came and said: 'The Emperor is very worried over the present situation; he has been asking whether he should summon the Premier and the War Minister together and ask them about the situation. MAKINO, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, thinks that it would be undesirable for him to indicate in detail to the Emperor what His Majesty should do under the present circumstances. Therefore, MAKINO is requesting you to come to Tokyo by all means'. Various circles might say, 'Why is he going to Tokyo?' and comment variously. Recently KIDO had suggested that I should go to Tokyo to see the Emperor under the pretext of paying my respects to His Majesty. At that time, I had said, 'That's absurd....' However, as KIDO suggested, I will immediately go to Tokyo on the 1st. On the 2nd, I will report to the Emperor, in order to pay my respects to him, and return to Okitsu on the same day. I want you to arrange the time at which I may be received in audience by His Majesty. Moreover, I believe it is best to announce publicly as soon as possible, the fact that I am going to go to Tokyo to pay my respects to the Emperor; so, please announce the matter (to the press)."

I said: "I am doubtful over your going to Tokyo. However, if you are going, I believe it is best for you to return to Okitsu as soon as possible in order to minimize the creation of various rumors under the present circumstances. Of course, it is best for you

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to return immediately; but avoid returning in the evening (of the 2nd), lest you become tired and exhausted."

Prince SAIONJI answered: "Regardless of whether it is evening or not, I'll return (on the 2nd)."

I returned immediately to Tokyo. I went to see KIDO to arrange the time of audience for Prince SAIONJI. The Emperor was to visit the Science Museum (at Ueno, Tokyo) on the 2nd; he was scheduled to return to the Imperial Palace around 3:30 P.M. However, it was decided to shorten the Emperor's visit and have His Majesty return to the Imperial Palace at noon, receive the Navy Minister in audience at 1:30 P.M., and then receive Prince SAIONJI in audience. I notified Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu as to the time of audience.

On the morning of the 31st, I met the Premier, WAKATSUKI; he said: "I am in a quandary. Should Prince SAIONJI come to Tokyo, I have a matter I would like to discuss with him immediately."

I told him: "The Foreign Minister, SHIDEMARA, is scheduled to meet the Prince at 5 P.M.; we could ask this to be deferred until 3:30 P.M. Should 30 minutes be sufficient, why not meet the Prince before the Foreign Minister meets him?"

"After considering various matters, I feel that it is exceedingly dangerous for the Government to face the coming Diet session with the present Cabinet. What do you, the Premier, think about this matter?"

To this, Premier WAKATSUKI answered: "In fact, it is exactly on that matter that I want to see Prince

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SAIONJI. The War Minister, MINAMI, Jiro, said that he was going to punish the Army officers who recently caused trouble (October Incident). When the administrative disposition of the case is made, I think the matter of responsibility (of higher authorities for permitting such an occurrence) will be broached, and consequently the Chief of the General Staff and the War Minister (MINAMI, Jiro) will have to resign. Then, it would become impossible for the Cabinet to remain in office. ADACHI, Kenzo, the Home Minister, is also urging: "By all means, a change (of the Cabinet) must be made."

I said: "Prince SAIONJI has said to me that it would be very disastrous for the Government to face the coming Diet session with the present Cabinet and that a change in the Government should be made before the impending Diet session. I believe that you can manage the situation with a change in your Cabinet, because INUKAI seems to be rather dubious about forming a single-party Cabinet."

The Premier (WAKATSUKI) was very happy when I said this; he said: "I am very glad over what you have told me; that is just what I wanted to speak to Prince SAIONJI about...."

During our talk, ADACHI, the Home Minister, had come and was waiting in the adjoining room. The Premier said: "The reason why ADACHI, the Home Minister, is waiting to see me is to discuss this matter."

MORI, Kaku said he wanted to meet me around 11:30 A.M.; we met at the appointed time and dined at the Scott (restaurant); while we were eating, I received

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a phone call from ADACHI, the Home Minister, he said:

"I would like to see you for just a short while before you leave (for Okitsu); please come immediately."

I borrowed MORI's car and went to the official residence of the Home Minister. ADACHI, the Home Minister, said: "I am glad that you spoke to the Premier; that has clarified the situation very much. In fact, I have already said to WAKATSUKI three or four times: 'By all means make arrangements for changing the Cabinet. We can, by no means, continue as at present; I feel it to be very dangerous. INUKAI (President of the opposing Seiyukai) must be made the Premier; and we must help him along.' When I tried to go to see Prince SAIONJI after having even decided upon the date, WAKATSUKI has said: 'Please wait.' This has happened three or four times. This is typical of WAKATSUKI's way of doing things."

ADACHI continued: "When Prince SAIONJI comes to Tokyo on the 1st, I would like to meet him by all means; please arrange a meeting for me."

I answered: "I shall ask the Prince to see you sometime in the morning of the 2nd."

And I returned to the Scott (restaurant), finished my meal with MORI, Kaku, and left for Shizuoka on the 1 P.M. train.

MORI said that he was against the idea of a coalition Cabinet. He said that the succeeding Cabinet had to be a single-party Seiyukai Cabinet. His attitude concerning the situation was firm.

I reached Shizuoka at 4 P.M., and went to Okitsu. I reported everything to Prince SAIONJI; I explained

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that Premier WAKATSUKI wanted to see him. I told him what ADACHI, the Home Minister, said. MAKINO, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, had stated that he would like to talk especially with Prince SAIONJI in the morning of the 2nd, leisurely, at the Prince's Surugadai home (in Tokyo); this was changed to a meeting in the Imperial Palace between 1 and 2 P.M. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, MAKINO had stressed: "I would like to talk with Prince SAIONJI alone confidentially." However, a visit of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, especially at the private residence of Prince SAIONJI, would be the cause of suspicions and rumors; moreover, since it was possible, if necessary, for the two to talk confidentially in the Imperial Palace, arrangements were made over the telephone for the meeting to take place in the Palace.

Prince SAIONJI said: "This is troublesome; however, nothing can be done about it. What do you think about letting WAKATSUKI resign if he dislikes his job and have SHIDEHARA carry on through the coming Diet Session?"

I answered: "Sometime ago, when he was the acting Premier, the Government was confronted with no serious problems, yet he had not been able to perform his task satisfactorily. Therefore, I think it would be impossible for him to take the reins in the present situation, complicated by the Manchurian Incident and involvement with the League of Nations."

We discussed recent events and dined together. I returned to my Inn in Shizuoka around 8 o'clock.

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I returned to Tokyo with Prince SAIONJI on the 9:30 train from Okitsu.

The train reached Tokyo after 2 o'clock. I accompanied Prince SAIONJI to his Surugadai home. At 3 o'clock, the Premier, WAKATSUKI, came, talked with Prince SAIONJI for about an hour, and left. At 3:30, the Foreign Minister, SHIDEHARA, arrived; he talked with Koichi (grandson of Prince SAIONJI) and me for over 30 minutes. SHIDEHARA spoke admiringly about the life and works of Cecile RHODES. SHIDEHARA talked with Prince SAIONJI from 3:30 to around 5 o'clock and returned. I returned home and the next morning, I visited various persons. I went to Prince SAIONJI's around 12:30. I heard that the Home Minister ADACHI had come to the Prince's Surugadai home at 8 o'clock, talked until 10:30 and returned. Prince SAIONJI went to the Imperial Palace at 1 o'clock and spoke with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal until 2 o'clock. Prince SAIONJI was received in audience by the Emperor at 2 o'clock for about 45 minutes. After the audience, Prince SAIONJI was granted tea by the Emperor along with high court officials.

I waited in the adjoining room along with KIDO for about 3 hours, talking on various subjects.

While Prince SAIONJI was being received in personal audience by the Emperor, we discussed various matters with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, MAKINO; the Grand Chamberlain; and the Chief Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, MAKINO said: "HATTA, a member of the House of Peers, visited Manchuria with a group of people. When he returned

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from his trip, he said that he heard the following rumor from Army officials in Manchuria: 'When the War Minister, MINAMI, Jiro, recently went to the Imperial Palace in order to receive His Majesty's approval on some matter, he was made to wait for three hours before being received in audience. He wondered why he was required to wait so long and made inquiries thereon. He learned that the Emperor was engaged in playing mahjong with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, MAKINO, and the Grand Chamberlain. This was certainly outrageous.' It is unpardonable that HATTA, a House of Peers member, should disseminate this as if it were true."

The Grand Chamberlain said that he did not know what a mahjong looked like and commented on the prevalence of rumors in recent times.

SEKIYA, the Vice-Minister of the Imperial Household, asked me: "Isn't there something that would make one feel bright and happy."

However, I didn't talk with him much. Sometime past 4 o'clock, I accompanied Prince SAIONJI and returned to the Prince's Surugadai home.

We left Shimbashi Station on the 6 o'clock train and returned to Okitsu. It happened that when we arrived at Tokyo as well as when we left Tokyo, people like FUJII, Minoru, etc. came to pay their respects to us bringing with them persons such as HAYAKAWA, Tetsuya; MITSUI, Seiichi, etc., whom I previously had never met. These people appeared at Shimbashi Station and even at Yokohama Station. They talked among themselves confidentially as if they were

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discussing something significant. Prince SAIONJI was somewhat annoyed by this. However, after we boarded the train and were alone together, he expressed happiness over the fact that his schedule for returning home worked smoothly; he said: "I'm feeling very much at ease."

We reached Okitsu sometime before 11 P.M. Prince SAIONJI told me: "I have a message I want you to convey to SHIDEHARA tomorrow morning; please don't forget this."

I decided to go to Prince SAIONJI's at 9:30 the next morning; I went to the separate building of the Omoto-Kan Inn and stayed there overnight. The following morning, I went to see Prince SAIONJI; he said: "When ADACHI, the Home Minister, came yesterday to see me, he spoke about forming a coalition Cabinet after the present Cabinet resigned. I asked him questions on two or three points of his proposal and told him that I would think the matter over."

Prince SAIONJI didn't tell me anything further about the contents of what ADACHI had said.

Prince SAIONJI said: "When I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, MAKINO, I received the impression that he was discontented with the present Premier and wanted a strong Cabinet. However, he didn't say anything about convening a State Council presided over by the Emperor, or a Senior Statesmen's Conference."

"On the matter of the gold embargo, I don't think it is desirable to lay an embargo on gold again. On this point, MAKINO seems to have understanding. I

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thought that probably someone in the financial circles had informed him on the problem. Although I felt somewhat sorry for him, I told MAKINO: "Your father, Prince OKUBO, Toshimichi, and his colleagues were great men. During his time, Japan was in far more critical situation than at present; at that time the rise or fall of Japan was the issue. The general opinion of the time was in agreement with the idea of conquering Korea. Nevertheless, your father opposed the proposal of SAIGO, Nanshu, the chief proponent for conquering Korea, who was his elder friend from his home district, and prevented its realization. This is one of the reasons which enabled Japan to attain her present status. Prince OKUBO's actions were largely responsible for the success of the Meiji Restoration. He was indeed a truly powerful minister and statesman. Persons who shoulder heavy responsibilities similar to his should always maintain similarly firm attitudes as statesmen."

"To this, MAKINO said: 'But my father was very friendly with SAIGO....' What I said might have sounded to him as being somewhat sarcastic. Well, this is what I said to him."

Prince SAIONJI continued: "When I was received in audience by the Emperor, His Majesty said: 'I am worried over the matter of the League of Nations. When I think what will happen, should economic sanctions be placed upon Japan, etc., I feel that Japan is in an extremely delicate position; I am worried over the outcome of the present situation. Consequently, I am thinking of summoning the Premier,

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WAKATSUKI, the War Minister, MINAMI, and the Foreign Minister, SHIDEHARA, together and asking their opinions on the situation."

"To this, I said: "Should the opinions of the aforementioned Ministers differ, the result would be rather undesirable, therefore, I think it is best to not summon them as Your Majesty planned. I think it is best for Your Majesty to summon the Foreign Minister very informally for a conversation and ask him questions."

"Now please keep this to yourself. When you return to Tokyo today, go immediately to SHIDEHARA, the Foreign Minister, and tell him: "This is not to be construed that I, SAIONJI, am betraying the confidence of the Emperor: I advised His Majesty to summon you informally. Keep this in mind and when you are received in audience by His Majesty, please touch on every topic lightly. It is undesirable for you to tell lies; nevertheless, speak to His Majesty in a conversational manner and in such a way that what you say shall be agreeable and cause no undue worry to His Majesty.""

In addition to the above, Prince SAIONJI said: "I told the Emperor that it was my duty to His Majesty to see that the spirit of the Constitution granted to the people by Emperor MEIJI should not be marred, and that international treaties should be strictly adhered to. I told the Emperor that I felt my greatest responsibilities consisted in maintaining those two principles lest the nation should be misguided. The Emperor was very well satisfied by these words of mine and said: "I agree with you.""

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I returned to Tokyo on the noon train. At 7:50 P.M., I went to the private residence of SHIDNEARA and conveyed the message of Prince SAIONJI to him. I learned from the Foreign Minister that: "KAWAI, the Grand Chamberlain, had sent a notice: 'Please remain for a while after the dinner with the Emperor on the occasion of receiving the Ethiopian Ambassador in audience by His Majesty'. Apparently this refers to the message that you conveyed to me from Prince SAIONJI. I understand the matter well."

I reported to Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu that I had conveyed his message to the Foreign Minister, SHIDNEARA.

Newspaper reporters and persons in various circles spread rumors about Prince SAIONJI's audience with the Emperor: "Prince SAIONJI sought an audience with the Emperor, because His Majesty had personally summoned Hachiro (son of Prince SAIONJI) and commanded him: 'Tell SAIONJI to come and see me.' And as a result of this, Hachiro had gone to fetch his father. The high court officials and the Government had connived to have the Emperor command Prince SAIONJI: 'Suppress the military,' when he was received in audience by His Majesty. Everything was planned so that SAIONJI would inevitably have to accept this order of His Majesty. However, Prince SAIONJI is a wise man, so he avoided being caught in this plot and returned without being involved. For this reason, the time of audience was very short; it lasted for only 10 minutes."

Prince SAIONJI was summoned for consultation by

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the Emperor because MAKINO, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had tendered his resignation."

And other rumors of like nature were being spread.

I received a telephone call from the Home Minister, ADACHI, on the 4th; he said: "Please come to my place." When I went to the Official residence of the Home Minister, ADACHI said: "I want a coalition Cabinet to be formed by all means. I believe it would be a good idea to get the Minseito and Seiyukai to collaborate, with the cooperation of the military. Please keep this very confidential. I'm going to effectuate this."

The military (which ADACHI mentioned) was General MATSUI, Iwane. In connivance with Count KIYOURA through General MATSUI and other leading military officers, ADACHI planned to make the Seiyukai agree to his plan. Then, the Minseito Cabinet would resign; President INUKAI would be appointed Premier; and a faction of the Minseito would support the new Cabinet.

On this matter, SEIRATORI of the Foreign Office was visited by MORI, Kaku, who in great anger said: "INUKAI, Ken and HARADA, Kameo seem to be organizing a movement for forming a coalition Cabinet. This is outrageous."

I learned that during my absence, MORI, Kaku had frequently called me on the phone. I telephoned him; he came to my home around 8 o'clock on the 4th, and said: "The Seiyukai will consent to only a single party Cabinet. Persons like AKITA, Kiyoshi and NAKAI, Yonesc are the ones in the Seiyukai who are

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active in the coalition Cabinet movement — they are the kind of people who have no chance of obtaining a post in the Cabinet."

I told MOMI, Kaku: "I heard that you seemed to think that INUKAI, Ken and I were active in the movement for forming a coalition Cabinet. That is entirely false. It is very dangerous for the Government to face the coming Diet session with its present composition. You yourself have told me this. I felt likewise, so I mentioned this matter to Prince SAIONJI. Under those circumstances, the first movement for a change was directed toward forming a coalition Cabinet of the Minseito and Seiyukai by making WAKATSUKI and SHIDHARA resign and replacing them with ADACHI as Premier and INUKAI as Vice-Premier.

"However, this was reconsidered as a false step for reforming the Cabinet, because should WAKATSUKI, SHIDHARA and INOUE resign, the Cabinet would collapse en bloc. Should the Cabinet collapse en bloc, the reign of the Government would go to the Seiyukai. Consequently the movement was changed towards forming a coalition Cabinet headed by the Seiyukai with ADACHI included in the new set-up. Now if the situation should develop one step further, a Seiyukai single-party Cabinet might be realized.

"All I'm doing is assembling unadulterated news and reporting it correctly to Prince SAIONJI. Please understand that I have no idea of intriguing for any purpose whatsoever. Even if you should claim that the succeeding Cabinet must be a single-party Cabinet

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if there are others who are considering other courses of action, I must report their activities to Prince SAIONJI."

NORI said: "Please do not discuss various matters with anyone other than myself", which implied that he didn't want me to see anyone other than himself. Therefore I said: "I have to meet people. But this has no special significance; please keep this in mind."

In the afternoon of that day, I met INUKAI, Ken; he said: "The Seiyukai won't consent to anything other than a single-party Cabinet. "When Prince KONOYE's emissary, YOKOYA, came to see KOJIMA, Kazuo, KOJIMA stressed the fact that a dissolution of the Diet was inevitable; the succeeding Cabinet must by all means be a political party Cabinet formed by a single party. KOJIMA even said that Prince KONOYE must be able to understand this, since he is an upholder of the Constitution."

At the time when the military were acting noisily, INUKAI, Ken came to me in a hurry and said: "A single-party Cabinet could hardly cope with the situation. The political parties must collaborate and work together until the fundamental system of the Army is reformed."

This is probably what the President of the Seiyukai, INUKAI, (the father of Ken) is still thinking deep in his heart; he is probably in favor of a coalition Cabinet. But it would be inconvenient for him openly to profess his thoughts in view of the opinions of the extremists of the Seiyukai, and consequently,

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for this reason, he is expressing his preference for a single-party Cabinet. It seems that INUKAI, Ken is of the same sentiment as his father.

About 9 o'clock of the 4th, I received a phone call from ITO, Burakichi; he said: "Please come to the Horyu (restaurant) immediately." When I went to see him, he said: "I would like to meet KOMOTO by all means." To this, I answered: "I think it's impossible." ITO said: "KIDO said it might be possible to meet him for a short while confidentially. It is said that he won't meet anyone, but I think something can be done about it. If possible, I would like to go about 11 o'clock on the 7th with you and KIDO. The reason for this is that opinions in various circles indicate that they are for a coalition Cabinet. To be frank, HATOYAMA, Ichiro and KUHARA, Fusanosuke are saying that they have no objections to a coalition Cabinet. MORI, Kaku is the only one who is stubbornly shouting for a single-party Cabinet; the others have a good understanding of the situation. The opinions of the financial circles are also for a coalition Cabinet. For instance, at this evening's meeting of Mikka-kai (3-day Society) sponsored by us, leading members of all types of industry appeared; they were for a coalition Cabinet. I would like to see General UGAKI be the head of the coalition Cabinet. Objections might be raised that this might antagonize the military; nevertheless, I believe that this would be interesting. Now, in order to realize this, I want you to obtain the consent of ADACHI; I will handle KUHARA, Fusanosuke. A coalition Cabinet can undoubtedly be formed,

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should KUHARA and ADACHI be brought together to collaborate. Anyone opposed to this plan could leave the party. MOCHIZUKI, Keisuke also seemed to be in agreement with this plan. Opinions favoring this course are rather strong. HATOYAMA also seems to favor this plan."

ITO suggested that the four of us should deliberate upon this matter, thereupon report it to Prince SAIONJI, and should he favor it, attempt to effectuate it.

I immediately replied on the spot: "I have repeatedly said that I wouldn't collaborate in such a movement. Why not find someone else and let him do this."

I felt dubious about KUHARA, but in view of his connection with ITO, I said nothing about him. Should UGAKI be made the Premier, what to do with INUKAI would become a question. I thought that this would be a rather serious problem. However, it is true that opinions favoring a coalition Cabinet have gained considerable force in various quarters. I said: "I have no objections to meeting at KONOYE's about 11 o'clock on the 7th. But first let's ask him whether he will see us or not." And we parted.

Seionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 17
(10 October 1931)

Ugaki's Own Story

Translated by Lieut. Fujio F. Asano

On the morning of the 5th, I visited Finance Minister INOUE, at his official residence. The Finance Minister said: "The appropriations are about to be agreed upon, and the Military Reorganization Plan is ready. However, of necessity, I had to issue 40,000,000 Yen of bonds, and with some 40,000,000 Yen increase in taxation, I will have to make ends meet."

After talking about various matters with the Finance Minister, just when I was about to leave, I met MATSUMOTO, Gaku in the hallway. Abruptly, MATSUMOTO said: "To talk over various matters, I met UGAKI. UGAKI is very much determined. That rumor about the scheme of UGAKI against the Army is entirely untrue. If UGAKI has not the ability to control the Army, his importance is nil. To question his ability to control the Army is the intentional propaganda of someone, and the matter should be entirely disregarded. Governor UGAKI is harbouring a strong conviction regarding the matter, so won't you meet him?"

On the way back, I visited the Premier. As usual, the Premier was distressed about the troops in Manchuria. He said: "Although it was unnecessary, the troops accompanied the bridge repair unit, and clashed with the Armur River Army (Chinese). It is regrettable that the situation is further impaired. It is really distressing that we cannot control the

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dispatched troops."

When I was about to leave, I heard that Governor UGAKI came to see the Premier. Therefore, I told secretary TAKAHASHI to make an appointment for me, and said: "At the earliest opportunity, I wish to meet Governor UGAKI."

I was told (by Governor UGAKI): "On the 7th, come at 8 o'clock in the morning." Therefore I went to see him on the 7th. I told the Governor: "First of all, I heard from Prince HIGASHIKUNI that the coup d'etat of March 21st was your scheme. In addition, according to the information from various sources, the name, time and places are all given in detail. Therefore, at first, I thought that you condoned such actions. Later we heard that you had escaped; that you had said, 'No' to them. There was a remark that: 'You would probably take action, if the organization of SAKAI, Eizo backed you. In order to do so, it will be appropriate for you to seek the support of SAKAI through ARIMA.' I even heard that ronin (so-called patriots without official position) went to see ARIMA about arranging the matter. At that time, the whole plot sounded so real that I told the Foreign Minister about it without verifying the authenticity of the matter. However, Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA dismissed the story with a smile, and said: 'I know General UGAKI very well. It is absolutely impossible for UGAKI, of all people, to do such things.'"

Then we talked about various matters, and according to Governor UGAKI: "At that time, KOISO, the

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present Military Affairs Bureau Chief came to see me, and urged: 'Please meet OKAWA, Shumei.' Therefore, I told him (KOISO) that at the most, I could rate OKAWA, Shumei only in the category of OSEIO, Heihachiro. I told him that even at that, I was rating him too high. I also told him that I did not wish to meet such a person. However, after thinking it over, I recollected that I had met such a person as OKAWA, Shumei once, about five or six years ago. I told him (KOISO): "No, I will not meet him (OKAWA)." I refused his request several times. However, because KOISO was a fellow provincial of OKAWA, and for various reasons, he (KOISO) repeatedly requested, 'By all means, please meet him.' Therefore, I referred to my diary, and according to my diary, I had met OKAWA on the night of February 11, 1931. At that meeting, first of all, OKAWA said: 'The parliamentary constitutionalism of today is not worthy of having the national administration entrusted to it. The state of affairs among the present-day political parties is really scandalous. Therefore, we are planning to initiate a popular movement, and to denounce the political party system of government. At that time, we might take direct action against it; however, even if there is a mobilization of troops, I request that the troops do not try to suppress the action, but that they over-look the matter.' Thereupon, I retorted: 'That is a very outrageous remark. In the event of danger to the lives of innocent people, disturbance of the peace and order of the capital,

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and danger to the Imperial Family, it is the duty of the Army to suppress the cause of such dangers. I cannot consent to such a request as your's.' Then he (OKAWA) said: 'Political party government is already hopeless, therefore, what is your opinion about a dictatorial government, with a coalition Cabinet, and you (UGAKI) as the Premier.' I answered: 'As the War Minister of the present Cabinet, it is not proper for me to plot such plans. I am casting my lot with the present Cabinet, and when the present Cabinet resigns, I also will have to resign. At present it is absurd for me to think of becoming a Premier and organizing a Cabinet.' Then OKAWA asked me: 'When starting a popular movement, bombs are necessary, therefore, I request your consideration regarding the matter.' I refused this request, and said: 'That cannot be expected from me.' On a later date, KOISO, of the Military Affairs Bureau, came, and said: 'Thanks for meeting OKAWA the other day.' Then he (KOISO) spread various rumors about me and said: 'UGAKI finally changed his mind. At first he vouched for the plan, and in the end he changed his mind.' I even heard a rumor to the effect that: 'OKAWA, Shumei is very angry, and is saying that he is going to do something about UGAKI.'

"Since then, I have met OKAWA, Shumei at the riding ground while riding a horse, but did not notice much change in his attitude. This kind of facts has passed on and on, and persons such as the MACHIDA, Keira group and others are using them as slanderous propaganda material. They are either

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saying: 'UGAKI has no more influence in the Army; or 'It is the scheme of UGAKI.' In the first place, to have influence or not to have influence (in the Army) is no problem to me. People came to my place, and told me about those things, therefore, there was an occasion when I said: 'Only as an individual, why should UGAKI have any influence in the Army? In a word, as a War Minister of the Emperor, and due to my position as Minister to the Emperor, I am able to wield influence over the Army. After I quit the position of minister, I don't think there would be anyone who would be influenced by me.'

"There even was a person that came all the way to Korea to warn me about this problem, and he said: 'The propaganda is very shrewd, therefore, please take precautions'. On the way back from the Grand Maneuvers, I am planning to stop over at Okitsu, and to have a leisurely talk about these matters and also about the internal condition of the Army (with Prince SAIONJI)." Then after talking about various other matters, I left General UGAKI's place.

Then I went to KONOYE's place. I had a talk about various matters with ITO, Bunkichi, KIDO and KONOYE. ITO, Bunkichi said: "To solve this difficult situation somehow, a coalition Cabinet is necessary. As the head of the coalition Cabinet, we will have UGAKI. To sponsor the preparatory discussion, do you not think that ADACHI and KUHARA are suitable? If KUHARA does not comply, we shall decide on TOKONAMI."

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He (ITO) was worried about various means to solve the current difficult situation, and he said: "It will not appear proper (to the public) with UGAKI as Premier; however, will INUKAI accept the Premiership of a coalition Cabinet?"

From KONOYE's place, I went to the Foreign Ministry to see the Foreign Minister. The Foreign Minister said: "On the 6th, after the envoy of the Ethiopian Ambassador had dined with His Majesty, I answered His Majesty's various inquiries, and told His Majesty in leisurely fashion about the international situation. His Majesty appeared to be very well satisfied with the situation.

"Governor UGAKI came, and we talked for a time. He was very cheerful, and our opinions were almost identical. Then I said to Governor UGAKI: 'You and I are friends of many years standing. At times there may be discrepancies in our opinions, but in this critical moment, I request your full assistance. Even if you attend the Grand Maneuvers, please return as soon as possible. Again, I request you to be of assistance to me regarding various matters.' UGAKI answered: 'If there's anything that I can do, I will give you all the assistance possible.'"

I left Tokyo at 1:00 o'clock, and arrived in Shizuoka at 4:30 o'clock. Then I met the Prince and told him about everything. The Prince was very much pleased about UGAKI. The Prince said: "If it leaks to the outsiders that SHIDEHARA and WAKATSUKI are receiving assistance from UGAKI, and especially if the military hear about it, even purposes that

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can be accomplished might be wrecked. The matter is very delicate, therefore, something must be done about it."

I left on the 6 o'clock train, and changed to the Tsubame in Numazu at 7 o'clock to return home. Immediately upon return I visited SHIDEHARA and WAKATSUKI, and urged them to be cautious about the matter.

The League of Nations problem is becoming more and more difficult.

Seionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 18
(14 October 1931)

Cabinetmeeting

Translated by Lieut. Fujio F. Asano

On the 8th, the Emperor left for Yokosuka and went to Sasebo on the battleship Haruna.

As for the League of Nations Assembly, it was thought that Ambassador YOSHIKAWA might be handicapped in linguistic ability. Therefore, instructions were issued to Ambassador YOSHIZAWA to this effect: "By all means speak in Japanese, and have your statements translated into either English or French." At that time, there was a shortage of personnel in Paris, therefore, MATSUDAIRA, Ambassador to Great Britain, and YOSHIDA, Ambassador to Italy, were selected to be dispatched to Paris. The attitude of Japan was rather strong, therefore, it appears that the attitudes of England and the United States have changed a little. However, there still exists a dangerous atmosphere.

The Foreign Ministry and the present Cabinet are most concerned about the confidential report of the escape (of Emperor HSUAN-TUNG (PU-i)) from Tientsin. Many are speculating that: "Probably Lt. Colonel DOIHARA has taken him (PU-i) from Tientsin, and they may appear in Mukden. If such a thing happens, the position of Japan will be made more and more difficult. Primarily, that is the matter of greatest concern. Another is that the Army might advance troops to Tsitsihar, north of the Don River. In that event, this action also will have an important bearing on

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the prestige of Japan. The incident that broke out in Tientsin, regardless of the proclamation of CHANG Hsueh-ming (Mayor of Tientsin), is being talked of by some as having probably been instigated by the Japanese Army, and in the event that this is true, it will also make the position of Japan most critical. Any one of these three problems might determine the fate of the Cabinet. The Foreign Ministry group are saying that if such things are true, this will be an excellent opportunity to maintain, eternally, the prestige of Japan by showing to the world that even in Japan there are wills to oppose firmly acts in violation of international treaties at the risk of the fate of the Cabinet."

The Foreign Ministry is worried that if such things may happen prior to the opening of the Assembly of the League of Nations on the 16th....

On the other hand, during the absence of the Emperor (from Tokyo), the so-called coalition Cabinet movement has become active. The maneuvering (for a coalition Cabinet) of the so-called ADACHI faction seems to have become very evident, and I heard from the newspaper reporters and all sorts of people that there is a movement to effectuate the plan. There are various movements advocating a coalition of the Seiyukai and the Minseito with INUKAI as the head, and the Minseito assisting him.

There are also others that are urging that a coalition of the Seiyukai and Minseito will not be successful unless the military are invited to cooperate with the parties. For instance, there is a

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rumor that NAKANO, Seigo is making a daily visit to Lt. General ARAKI.

According to the rumor in the Seiyukai, even TOKONAMI, KUHARA and HATOYAMA are supporting a coalition. Only the MORI and SUZUKI faction (of the Seiyukai) are against a coalition. MORI is absolutely against it, and is saying: "It (the forming of a Cabinet) is entirely impractical unless the Cabinet is to be independent."

I visited President INUKAI on the morning of the 11th. I told him about the actual facts of the coup d'etat incident that incriminated UGAKI. According to President INUKAI: "NAKANO, Seigo visited me about the coalition Cabinet movement." Then we talked about current affairs in general, and I left.

In the Seiyukai meeting, re-establishment of the embargo on gold was announced. There are some who are worrying that this might have an extremely undesirable effect upon financial circles. When I met President INUKAI, he stated: "The policies (of political parties) are different, therefore, the forming of a coalition Cabinet is difficult. We might be able to support and cooperate with Manseto only in regard to foreign policy; however, it is almost impossible to agree with them on any other problem. I don't understand why everybody tries to avoid the dissolution of the Diet. I believe that the dissolution of the Diet is advisable."

Then I met Premier WAKATSUKI. He was very much concerned about the situation; however, he did not give any indication that he might resign in the near future. He said that he would remain at his post

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as long as possible. Probably, there were many in the Minseito who might be involved if there were any indication of resignation. On the other hand, if there are any indications of a change of Cabinet due to the announcement of the re-establishment of the embargo on gold by Seiyukai, it might have a great effect upon financial circles, and there might again be a flight of capital (to foreign countries). That would be very disastrous. I got the impression that he (WAKATSUKI) intentionally did not show any indications of change because of these considerations.

I met the Premier on the 12th of November. The Premier said: "I don't want you to tell this to anyone except the Prince. I don't mind if you tell the Prince about this matter as if it is your own opinion. During the Cabinet meeting, the War Minister made a very disorderly remark. The War Minister said: 'Since the establishment of the Army and the beginning of the Restoration, there has never been a precedent in history for the restrictions which the activities of the Army are meeting from the Cabinet of today. If the actions of the Army are thus restricted, it is almost impossible to protect the interests of Japan.' At that very moment, Foreign Minister SHIMAZU said: 'There was a precedent set during the Japanese-Russian War when the Army was stopped from going north of the Liao-Ho (river). There are many more examples.' It is very unbecoming for the War Minister to rattle off such remarks. That is my opinion."

I left (Tokyo) on the evening of the 12th, and

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went to Okitsu. I informed the Prince about the current situation, and also talked about various matters. I told the Prince: "In general, I recommend the continuation of the present Cabinet. In order to strengthen the Cabinet further, it would be advisable to fill the position held by the ICHINOMIYA, Fusajiro group by a group headed by Baron YAMAMOTO, Tatsuo, and in addition, to include UGAKI, Governor-General of Chosen, as War Minister. Thus the problem of financial circles will be solved for this will mean the continuation of the present policy of INOUE.

"Another possibility is the formation of an HIRANUMA Cabinet. Some say that this is the scheme of the SUZUKI group. However, the military is continually negotiating with the so-called SUZUKI group of the Seiyukai, and with the Home Minister ADACHI of the Minseito. Those two are advocating a form of coalition Cabinet, therefore, there are some who are saying that those two are thinking of collaborating with one another.

"Another plan is to ally ADACHI and TOKONAMI and to place either SAITO or UGAKI at their head. Lt. General MATSUMOTO is anti-UGAKI, therefore, he incessantly mentions SAITO for the position. This is a movement headed by KIYOURA, Seigo.

"NAKANO of the Minseito is sponsoring a movement for alliance between ADACHI and INUKAI, with INUKAI as the head, and with ADACHI as the assistant. Various movements are being started quite actively."

I reported those matters in general. I emphasized

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the fact that it would be hazardous for the Cabinet, in its present form, to meet the Diet session.

The Prince said: "If the Emperor says anything about the matter, in order not to infringe upon the true spirit of the constitution, it cannot be helped if a Cabinet is formed by INUKAI through the persuasion of WAKATSUKI. It is not impossible to have HIRANUMA or UGAKI form a Cabinet; however I believe that it will be most difficult to try to continue with the present Cabinet by admitting YAMAMOTO, Tatsuo. I believe that, both President WAKATSUKI and Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA are completely exhausted. The problem of the financial circles is extremely important, and at this moment, it requires much consideration. However, in view of other important matters, sacrifice to a certain extent is necessary. There was a precedent set during the OKUMA and ITAGAKI Cabinet period, when the Emperor summoned those two important officials, and told them, 'Organize a Cabinet.' However, at present, that is absolutely impossible. Regardless of what happens, there probably will be confusion after the Grand Maneuvers."

MAYEDA, Tamon told me that he wanted to send TSURUMI to the United States; however, if the plan is financed by the Army, various restrictions may be imposed, and that would be undesirable. He asked me if I knew anyone who might finance this plan. I suggested that he discuss the matter with KONOVE, and then secretly request SUMITOMO to finance the plan. However, I thought that it was necessary to

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inform the Prince about the matter, therefore I told the Prince about it. The Prince said: "I believe that it is preferable that you approach the Manchuria Railway Company rather than ask for any help from SUMITOMO. Have a letter sent to President UCHIDA (Manchuria Railway) by KONOYE, and have something done about it." After hearing his advice, I returned to Tokyo.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 19
(19 November 1931)

Advance to Tsitsihar

Translated by Lieut. Fujio F. Asano

Upon returning to Tokyo, I met KONOYE, and made arrangements to send TSURUMI, Yusuke to the United States. I asked KONOYE to write a letter to UCHIDA, President of the Manchuria Railway Co., stating: "Request a donation of 15,000 Yen from Manchuria Railway Company."

However, KONOYE said: "I do not know the President of the Manchuria Railway very well. Therefore, it will not be proper if I did not mention the Prince in the letter."

Therefore, I telephoned Okitsu, and asked the Prince: "Is it all right to mention in the letter to the President of the Manchuria Railway Company that there is an understanding with Prince (SAIONJI) regarding the matter?"

The Prince (SAIONJI) replied: "I don't want it to state that it is my instruction. However, it is all right to state that there exists an understanding regarding the matter with me." Therefore, I told that to KONOYE.

On the following day, I went to the Foreign Ministry, and told SHIRATORI about MAYEDA, Tamon talking to me about sending TSURUMI, Yusuke to the United States. SHIRATORI said something like: "The trip of TSURUMI is unnecessary."

However, after a further talk, I finally gained the understanding of SHIRATORI.

On the evening of the 14th, I went to the residence

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of Viscount SHIBUSAWA at Takinozawa to express my condolence. However, coincidentally, I met IWANAGA, Yukichi. I told him about MAYEDA and TSURUMI, and asked him to transmit my message to MAYEDA. It so happened that the same evening, IWANAGA was supposed to drop in on the conversation of WOLBER of the League of Nations, which was about MAYEDA and TSURUMI. I told him that it had already been decided that KONOYE would telegraph President UCHIDA, requesting the financing of the plan. In addition, I told IWANAGA: "Please tell MAYEDA that I have gained the understanding of Prince (SAIONJI) regarding this plan."

Then, before parting, IWANAGA said: "Please go to KONOYE's place tomorrow, and compose the telegraph message. I will leave everything to you."

The following day, I talked to KONOYE and IWANAGA over the phone. Then I sent the telegram of request to President UCHIDA. I heard from KONOYE that about two or three days later, a telegram of consent came from UCHIDA.

I met the Premier on the 16th. The Premier said: "Please tell this only to the Prince. If the Army sends troops to the north of the Chinese Eastern Railway, this Cabinet cannot take responsibility for its actions. During the Cabinet meeting, the War Minister tried, but was not able to propose a plan to increase the strength of the troops (in China). Of course, the War Minister has a firm intention of increasing the troops (in China). I firmly told him: 'Regardless of the situation, hold the troops on this side of the Chinese Eastern tracks.' Then I asked the Foreign Minister

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about the same subject. The Foreign Minister told me that he questioned the other Cabinet members about the subject, and said: 'If the troops go beyond the Chinese Eastern tracks, and attack Tsitsihar, I will not be able to avoid taking responsibility. Until today, I have given one reason or another to uphold the prestige of Japan, and have endeavored to give various explanations to the League of Nations for the actions of the Japanese Army. However, in case the troops advance further north, I absolutely refuse to take responsibility for their action. Fellow Cabinet members, you are maintaining silence, but what is your opinion regarding the subject?' The Finance Minister agreed with me, and said: 'Of course, it is as you say. I wholly agree with the Foreign Minister.'

On the 17th, at 3 o'clock P.M., when I was talking to the War Minister at his official residence, a report was received to the effect that the Kwantung Army Commander had made various propositions to the Army of General Ma Chan-shan, which occupied the area north of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and had said to them: "Withdraw your troops by the 25th. If so, the Japanese troops will also withdraw, after verifying your withdrawal." It was reported through CHANG Chin-hui that the troops of MA Chan-shan had accepted the proposition.

Then I told the War Minister: "The Army has accomplished what the Foreign Ministry was not able to do, and since then the Foreign Ministry has endeavored to justify what the Army has done up to date. Hereafter, prudence is necessary; the Army should

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not move troops unnecessarily and without reason, from the standpoint of international relations, and also in order to uphold the prestige of Japan. If actions are taken without serious deliberation, they may betray the confidence of the people in the Army, and create an antagonism of the people toward the military. Therefore, at this moment, prudence is most necessary for you."

Then I went to the Naval Ministry. I talked about the aforementioned matter in regard to the Army with the Naval Minister. The Naval Minister was very pleased about the Army situation, and said: "If MA Chan-shan accepts the demand of Japan, and withdraws his troops by the 25th, the situation will be perfect."

Before leaving, I visited Rear-Admiral TOYODA, newly appointed Naval Affairs Bureau Chief, in his office. Rear-Admiral TOYODA told me that he spoke to KOISO, Military Affairs Bureau Chief, over the telephone and then said: "I also heard that MA Chan-shan will withdraw."

Rear-Admiral TOYODA also told me about the conversation that he had with the Military Bureau Chief. He (TOYODA) said: "The Military Affairs Bureau Chief instructed the Army authority in Manchuria to 'Be on the alert though they have promised to withdraw by the 25th. It is necessary to be on the alert to the end, and to be able to cope with any situation.'"

Then again, I met the Premier. The Premier told me that he called in the Foreign Minister and the

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War Minister, individually, and told them: "If MA Chan-shan takes the offensive, our troops will have to repulse him. In the event that such a thing happens, unless our troops advance beyond the Chinese Eastern Railway tracks to Tsitsihar, the operation will not be complete from the view-point of strategy. Therefore, although the advance cannot be helped, as soon as the enemy in Tsitsihar has surrendered our troops should not occupy Tsitsihar but should return to their base. In other words, the crossing of the Chinese Eastern Railway tracks is absolutely necessary from the standpoint of military strategy. There are no other intentions. We do not have any territorial ambition or anything of the sort, and especially, we do not have the intention to occupy Tsitsihar or to fight Russia."

In a word, it was agreed by the War Minister, Premier and the Foreign Minister that the troops would advance beyond the Chinese Eastern Railroad to Tsitsihar, but that upon reaching Tsitsihar, the troops will return to their former base. The military was satisfied with the matter, and has been observing the situation.

On the evening of the 17th, when I was about to leave for some place about 8 o'clock, there were telephone calls from newspaper reporters. I was informed by them that, at first, MA Chan-shan had accepted the demand of the Japanese troops, but later, he received a telegram of encouragement from WAN Fulin and CHANG Hsueh-liang. The telegram of CHANG Hsueh-liang was intercepted by the Japanese Army. Upon

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interception of the message, their suspicion was aroused. Then it appeared that MA Chan-shan would not withdraw his troops, but instead, it seemed that he had switched to the offensive. The situation was such that a battle with MA Chan-shan's troops was unavoidable.

I arrived at Shizuoka at 2 o'clock on the morning of the 13th. The same morning, I visited the Prince at 9:30, and reported to him on various matters. Then I told the Prince that when I previously had dined at KONOYE's place with Finance Minister INOUE, he said: "The announcement of the re-establishment of the embargo on gold by Seiyukai is outrageous, and it doesn't make sense. So to speak, it is similar to a person who is about to open a bank advertising that as soon as the bank is open for business it will suspend payment. If there is to be a re-establishment of the embargo on gold it should be kept secret until the last moment and then put into effect without notice. Truly, the actions on the Seiyukai do not make sense. Not only that, but all the coalition Cabinet movements that have been started by various persons recently harbour the intention of organizing a Cabinet by consorting with the military. Today, unnecessary consorting with the military to organize a Cabinet will be a detriment and will not benefit our country. For instance, a government to please the military will result in the downfall of our country. If a Cabinet is to be formed, it should be progressive, and should be strong enough to cope with the military. I am extremely dissatisfied with the attitude of Home Minister ADACHI. It is very dangerous for the Cabinet

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to attempt to cope with the coming Diet Session with its present makeup. Moreover, Premier WAKATSUKI and Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA are both exceedingly tired, therefore, it is desirable for a new Cabinet to be formed as soon as possible."

I also reported to Prince SAIONJI the news concerning the military. I also gave him a general report on the matter of Japan's relationship with the League of Nations. Then I went to Shizuoka. From the train that I boarded, UGAKI, Governor-General of Korea, alighted. He was on the way to visit Prince SAIONJI.

I returned to Tokyo in the evening and went to the Foreign Office. The Japanese Army with unrestrained vigor had spearheaded to Tsitsihar. I met TANI, the Asia Bureau Chief; he said: "The situation is desperate. Should the Army enter Tsitsihar, it will never consent to withdraw troops to the rear. The Army will never withdraw its troops until it has instituted an independent government in Manchuria, and has entered into a suitable treaty with it. Now, if we can't make the Army withdraw its troops, Japan will be ruined. Thus, under present circumstances we can't very well carry on our diplomatic duties."

On the way home, I visited KONOYE. He said: "A ronin (political racketeer) came to me and said: 'I just came from the General Staff Headquarters. The General Staff Headquarters is boiling with extreme rage. At present, they are holding a confidential meeting discussing the situation. This is what they're angry about; the government, extremely

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worried lest the Army seize Tsitsihar, had decided that the situation was beyond its control, and had requested the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to ask the Emperor to demand that the Army withdraw its troops from Tsitsihar on His Majesty's personal order. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had made this request to the Emperor at the site of the Grand Military Maneuvers. This was considered by the military an outrageous act. The Army is saying that regardless of what the Emperor may say, the troops can't be withdrawn. The military are raising an extraordinary turmoil, saying that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal should be assassinated and the government overthrown. Lt. Colonel HASHIMOTO, along with three or four arch criminals, who had been the central figures in the recent disturbances, have disappeared somewhere since this morning. In all probability they have gone to the site of the Grand Maneuvers."

KONOYE said that he was worried, and called KIDO by phone. At the time this incident occurred, I was at Okitsu; therefore, in order to verify the above story, I telephoned KOISC, the Military Affairs Bureau Chief. He said: "I am at the War Ministry so why not come right over to see me."

Therefore, I went to see him immediately, and questioned him on this matter. He told me that it was all an entirely groundless rumour.

After discussing various matters with the Military Affairs Bureau Chief KOISO, I returned home around 8:30 P.M. I summoned INOUE, the Mobilization Section

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Chief of the War Ministry, and had him explain to me in general the mobilization plan. I was somewhat calmed when he said: "Even if the troops do seize Tsitsihar, they will immediately withdraw to the line south of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Army will unequivocally guarantee this."

The next morning I notified KIDO over the phone that the aforementioned matter was a groundless rumor. The same evening I also notified KONOYE about this.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 20
(30 November 1931)

Ambitious Adachi

Translated by Lieut. Hakuzo Nitta

On November 21, the Emperor returned from the Grand Maneuvers. The Home Minister ADACHI also returned to Tokyo on the same morning and issued the following statement: "The current national situation is critical. Should a people's Cabinet based on the collaboration of all political parties, be demanded as a symbol of the nation's sentiment and determination I am ready to respond to the request at any time...."

This caused a great commotion in political circles, but there were no desirable reactions. Since everything seemed confused that day, I did not attempt to meet him. However, I met him at his private residence at 8:00 A.M. on the 23rd. He declared: "In order to mitigate the prevailing aggravation of the military's adverse attitude and tendency towards repudiating political parties, and also in order to preserve the public's confidence in political parties, the two (major) political parties must suspend their political strife and collaborate in coping with the current critical international difficulties of Japan. This has been my opinion for some time. Needless to say, you are probably aware that I had received the Premier's understanding on this matter. In fact, you probably are best informed on the development and circumstances of this matter. While I was attending the Grand Maneuvers, the thoughts of the Premier underwent a complete

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change. I thought this very odd, but I am still of the opinion that determination to form a coalition Cabinet is necessary in settling the present difficulties, before the coming session of the Diet, with the joint effort of the nation. This is very similar to my throwing a pebble into a pond. I wish you would observe a little longer the ripples I can stir."

I said: "This reminds me that about 1926, when I first began working for Prince SAIONJI, there was a movement called the Constitution League. At the request, 'Come to Mr. KANASUGI's residence', I went and there sat a group consisting of TOKONAMI, you (ADACHI), KOBAYASHI and others who wrote memorandums which were shown to me. It certainly resembles that time. Isn't KANASUGI and his ilk mixed up in this?" Home Minister ADACHI replied; "This time there are no such schemers present." To which I asked: "Will it materialize before the 10th of next month at the latest?" "Yes, it will not be as late as that. Something should materialize before the end of this month or at the beginning of next month," Mr. ADACHI replied with determination. The public seemed greatly aggravated over this problem.

When I went to the Premier's residence and asked about progress, he said: "It was October 18 or thereabouts, I think, that the Home Minister called and came out with: 'It will be difficult to have one-party control at this session of the Diet because of the many problems and the incongenial atmosphere. How would it be to solve these problems by having

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INUKAI as the Premier and a coalition Cabinet in the British manner?' Thinking it a reasonable suggestion at the time, I said: 'That's very excellent, will you please work toward that end?' and parted with ADACHI. Later, a member of the Cabinet called on me. I discussed it (The foregoing matter) with him and he advised: 'That is practically impossible; won't it create greater confusion than now exists?' I gave it deep thought and on the following day, I phoned the Home Minister: 'I have given great thought to that matter and it is absolutely impossible. Therefore, that talk must be kept an absolute secret and will you regard the matter as closed?'

Later, in regard to Prince SAIONJI's coming to Tokyo, the Home Minister asked: 'Are you going to refer to the matter when you meet the Prince?' To which I replied, 'I will not mention it, but it might be well if the Home Minister himself mentioned it.' After that, the Home Minister went off to the Grand Maneuvers and during the discussion enroute, seeing that he was still maintaining the necessity for a national Cabinet, a colleague called: 'That theory of the Home Minister is very disturbing. In the first place, it is very irresponsible of him to speak of you quitting to be replaced by INUKAI. Carry on as before.' Various people said the same whenever opportunities arose. When they said: 'Please report strongly to the General Assembly of the Diet that you are proceeding as usual,' I reported to the General Assembly of the Diet in that vein. Then the Home Minister came back. Because of the

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interview on the train, I think he felt obliged to make the statement expressing his ideas (on the formation of a coalition Cabinet. But I, as the Premier, am of the intention of proceeding in this manner because the Home Minister's idea is just an ideal and cannot be carried out. Other Cabinet colleagues called a meeting of party members yesterday and agreed after lengthy discussions that we must proceed in this manner. These are the facts and I, as the Premier, am ashamed. However, please explain to the Prince that, even though I am ashamed, nothing can be done and I will proceed as usual."

What made the Premier state strongly that he would proceed as usual was that just previously, the Seiyukai made a second announcement on the gold embargo. For this reason, the prominent members of the moneyed interests, especially the foremost financiers, greatly feared this unrest in financial circles. Even the organization known as the ITSUKAKAI announced its stand against the Seiyukai platform. If such an announcement should develop a political crisis (change of administration) there was great danger that capital funds might disappear to foreign hands. From such considerations there were probably groups from the Minseito who encouraged the voicing of the Premier's stand for continuing as before. And liking this stand, the inner circle of the Minseito may have done likewise.

On the morning of the 4th, I called at Okitsu and made a thorough report. At that time the Prince said: "I think it unlikely that the Army will perpetrate the

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Chinchou attack, but because it is a problem which we must be cautious about, I secretly notified the Korean Governor-General, UGAKI, as follows: "You must endeavor not to support the undertaking of the Chinchou attack. Prince SAIONJI is greatly worried about this matter. It will be difficult for Governor-General UGAKI to make a move if he was asked by Prince SAIONJI; but I want it done not as my request, but as Governor-General UGAKI's own idea of putting a stop to the plan."

I returned that evening and having been invited to the wedding reception of UGAKI's daughter, I attended. While I stood and talked to General UGAKI at the Imperial Hotel, he stated: "No, just a little while back I met both the Chief of the General Staff and the War Minister and it seems that Chinchou will be left alone. Furthermore I, too, will take precautions about the matter."

In spite of this fact, the Army, especially the components in foreign outposts, still looked as if it might attack Chinchou, and I was very doubtful even when TANI and SHIRATORI of the Foreign Office assured me that everything was probably all right.

After that I called on both the War Minister and the Chief of Military Affairs and their reply was: "It's all right. No such thing will occur."

The next evening I invited the Navy group, the members of the House of Peers, and Foreign officials to celebrate YANAGIHARA's promotion. Even the Vice-Minister of War, the Chief of Military Affairs, and Admiral OSUMI were present. Chief of Military Affairs TOYODA came and said: "The truth of the matter of why

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I was late is that the Navy Minister called the Supreme War Councillors and others to his official residence and informed us of various happenings since the Manchurian Incident. As the result of the conference, the Army repeatedly has requested the deployment of the fleet in the Bay of Pechili, in anticipation of events at Chinchou. It even requested naval support, but in view of the critical international situation and the discretion thought necessary by the Navy, it was decided that at this time it could not grant the Army's request. A message: "Request destroyers at Shanhaikwan," was turned down just a little while ago." The Navy was holding to the attitude of discretion as much as possible.

When I called on the Chief of Intelligence at the Foreign Office on the evening of the 27th, he was greatly excited and indignant over the Associated Press report of STINSON's statement. Neither TANI nor I have yet heard the content of the American Ambassador's statement, but thinking that it has even been kept from us, he said in an unpleasant tone: "For STINSON to say such things is insulting. I'd like to hit him."

I inquired of the Foreign Minister and finally after many inquiries, he said: "I don't want such stories of the content of the statement going around. And I don't recall ever making such a secret promise." It seems that he immediately sent instructions for an inquiry to Ambassador DEBUCHI in the United States.

In the meantime, both the Army and Navy Ministries were very indignant, but the Army was especially

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so. Demands for resignation of the War Minister arose and antipathy increased against Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA. About this time the troops of CHANG Hsueh-Liang fired again on our troops at Tientsin. Two or three days previously, when this type of thing had occurred at Tientsin, an emergency Cabinet meeting was to be called and plans for sending reinforcements were to be made, but a couple of days to look over the circumstances were decided upon and the said meeting was never called.

On the evening of the 27th, an emergency Cabinet meeting was called and orders were issued for a battalion of reinforcements to be sent from Port Arthur to Tientsin. That evening I went to the Navy Ministry to see Chief of Naval Affairs TOYODA. He showed me a telegram he was about to send and said: "I had sent Commander TAYUI to inspect the situation of our fleet units assigned to police the mouth of the Yangtze River. Because, according to his report, the situation seems to be that the younger officers and seamen are tense and acting up due to the fact that the Army is operating extensively in Manchukuo, I intended to send them this kind of telegram: 'Today the Army is attacking in Manchukuo, but at this time the Navy is placed in a grave position because of the international situation. The Navy's quiet dignity upholds the Empire's prestige; a discreet attitude will show the rest of the world our feeling that we cannot be slighted. Because a reserved attitude is very necessary for the good of the Empire, be prudent.'"

That evening I was invited by the Mitsui group to

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the Shinkireka, where I met Mitsui Products' foremost authority on China, Mr OMURA Tokutaro, who said: "I am having it investigated now, but a DEBUCHI, Wanizaburo of the Omotokyo has combined forces with the Akamanjikyo group in Manchukuo, spreading such wild lies as, 'In — year Japan will have a revolution', 'We must build an independent state of Manchukuo', 'Don't listen to the central government' and such other alarming rumours intended to disturb the Army jurisdiction, conducting an independence movement to establish the HSUAN Dynasty and perpetrating other insulting acts. Something must be done about him." I had heard something about this previously, but I became all the more aware of the necessity for precautions after hearing this story.

On the 27th and 28th, everything seemed confused because of the STINSON issue, but I heard that a growing portion of the Seiyukai still was in favor of a coalition. When I met INUKAI, Ken, he stated that INUKAI (Father) had not made himself clear, but if the Seiyukai thinks it unavoidable, INUKAI's tone was that he would take part in a coalition, as I had previously suspected. I thought it best to proceed cautiously on this matter, because while ADACHI's intention of realizing a coalition Cabinet seemed to be unchanged, it appeared on the surface that he was following the status-quo policy.

Even after Finance Minister INOUE called on the Prince, I felt the necessity for vigilance, though his attitude for carrying on in the same manner during the Diet session was strong.

Early on the morning of the 29th, I went to Okitsu and made a general report on the situation. The Prince

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said: "I have met and talked with INOUE often, but there were many times when he contradicted himself later and was ambiguous. This time, however, he seemed extremely clear and logical and he is very determined to push through. In short, it seems that WAKATSUKI is decided on carrying on in like manner, INOUE is of the same opinion, and since SHIDEHARA concurs, we can do nothing but go ahead in this manner and seek solutions of problems in the future as they occur.

I phoned the Foreign Ministry from Okitsu inquiring about the state of affairs concerning the STINSON episode. As I had anticipated, it was an incorrect telegram and when I told the Prince this, he seemed pleased.

"If we seek for ADACHI's principal motive for still thinking of a coalition from the dark side, it may be that of self-love. However, is it not necessary that we appreciate his deep concern over the political party recognition question and that he deprecated the changing of the Army for the worse as it affects our nation? Could it be that dissatisfaction among the Imperial circle, the House of Peers, and the Privy Council, has strengthened his determination? The Imperial circle is not maintaining that we cannot continue as we are, but could it be the reports taken in by KIBAYAMA, Sukajiro of the Satsuma clan, an intimate friend of the Home Minister, which are causing this?", I asked of the Prince.

On the afternoon of the 29th, at Prince CHICHIEU's behest, "Please make time to see me", I went to his house at 1:30 and talked about various matters till

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after 3:00.

I conversed with the Prince (SAIONJI) about this and he said: "That was very good. Won't it be better if you mention it once in a while?"

To which I replied: "While KONOYE's health is impaired, I'll go." The Prince replied: "I am being constantly asked for an audience by the Seiyukai group, but thinking it better not to receive them at this time, I sent word: 'Can't meet you for four or five days because of ill health,' so I want you to know that I'm of that opinion."

I heard that it was the group consisting of KUHARA, KATSUDA, Kasui, MOCHIZUKI, and such others.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 21
(21 December 1931)

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Translated by Lieut. Hakuzo Nitta

When I called at Okitsu again some three or four days later, the Prince said, "Because the group consisting of KUHARA, OTANI, SONYU, MOCHIZUKI, and others has been insisting upon an audience, I thought it best to see them and made arrangements in view of the times."

When I met the Premier on November 30th, he related that at the Cabinet meeting on that day, the War Minister had questioned the Foreign Minister about the STIMSON statement and the Foreign Minister settled the issue when he clearly replied: "I met the American Ambassador on the 23rd and 24th, but I was in no position to talk, not knowing whether or not orders had been issued by the Army to withdraw troops. The content of my conversation with the Ambassador is entirely different from that which is rumoured."

I met SHIRATORI at the Foreign Ministry and he said: "STIMSON has made some insulting remarks. Because STIMSON is easily bewildered, could it not be that he immediately uttered as the truth what had been perfunctorily reported by newsmen? It is very insulting. STIMSON told newsmen such things as: 'The Japanese Army is running amuck in Manchukuo. Aren't the Emperor's troop acting like murderers and devils, even while expressing regrets?' 'The perpetration of attacks on Chinchou is very alarming. In the talks between the American Ambassador and Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA, didn't SHIDEHARA state that the Army group, namely

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the Chief of the General Staff and the War Minister, have decided not to attack Chinchou and have issued orders to that effect? After that, to attack Chinchou today is an insult.' The foregoing wrought-up conversation with newspapermen was transmitted by AP to the United Press as if it were a statement by the Secretary of State. Since the story was reported in the Japanese papers, I wired Ambassador DEBUCHI thus upon my personal responsibility: "If a personality, supposedly the Secretary of State, uttered that which appeared in the press today, it was an extremely rash action, considering that conferences between Ambassador FORBES and SHIDEHARA should be diplomatic secrets. To reveal this and to say that we have shown our intention of attacking Chinchou when we have not, and thus to abuse our troops is very indiscreet on the part of the present Secretary of State. Please demand a reconsideration." Ambassador DEBUCHI immediately conversed with the Secretary of State in that vein. The Secretary of State said that he was unaware that the talks between SHIDEHARA and the American Ambassador should have been kept secret until later. Because what he had stated differed from the context of that talk, he apologized with words never used recently in American history: "I am very sorry." There the incident was generally conceded to be closed.

Then the newspapers noisily played up the Foreign Minister's traitorous act as if to create a sensation, but nothing much came of it.

At that time, it seems, KUHARA called upon Prince SAIONJI stressing the necessity for a coali-

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tion Cabinet. Prince SAIONJI said: "KUHARA came and consistently talked about a coalition, but I said, 'I cannot possibly agree or disagree with you.' To which he replied 'Everything requires study and we are in the process of these studies.' Then I said: 'Of course, studies, whatever they are applied to, are not bad.' When he started to go home, he said: 'I'll be in to see you about this again.' To which I replied: 'Regardless of how often you come I can never agree or disagree, so please keep that in mind'."

Four or five days later when it was suddenly decided that the Home Minister would call at Okitsu, I went to meet him before he left for Okitsu. The Home Minister said: "That statement of STIMSON may become a grave political issue" as if it were a serious failure on SHIDEHARA's part. To this I replied: "I, personally, don't think so. If you persist in speaking before you have studied all the particulars, especially when it involves criticizing a Cabinet colleague, it might lead to unpleasant results. Be more respectful. It will do no good if you speak of this to the Prince. I think it would be well if you called in SHIRATORI and heard from him the circumstances which he knows best. Moreover, there will be no special problem because STIMSON has expressed apology for his behavior."

On hearing this, ADACHI kept his composure, but he said: "I think that something will gradually happen to the coalition problem while we keep watching, just as the clouds lift and the bright scenery appears."

Continuing he said, "When I call on the Prince, I would like to speak to him about the situation pending

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between WAKATSUKI and me since a few days ago."

To which I added: "The Prince is well informed about the circumstances between WAKATSUKI and you."

ADACHI went to Okitsu that evening and met the Prince on the following morning. When I went later to see the Prince, he said: "I met ADACHI a few days ago, but because he is a very clever man he did not even touch on the coalition and said: 'There is nothing to do, but to just push through as we are. While Premier WAKATSUKI does not budge, we can do nothing, either by coalition or otherwise. I'll push through as now.'" To which I answered: "Do your utmost".

Two or three days later, TOMITA Kojiro called and asked: "Just what is the story about ADACHI's and KUHARA's visit to Okitsu," I answered: "According to KUHARA, he said to the Prince: 'I have not met with ADACHI on the coalition problem but I have met TOMITA'. However, there seems to be no evidence that the Prince made any definite commitment. I venture to guess that the Prince thinks: 'Eventually it will be best if we continue as at present'."

To this TOMITA said: "The Minseito will be adjusted, but I cannot say the same for the Seiyukai" and went home.

Later on the morning of the 9th, TOMITA made a sudden appearance at the residence of Premier WAKATSUKI, saying: "If the government in its present form confronted the Diet, there would be great trouble. We must immediately form a coalition Cabinet. If it is at all possible, why don't you resolutely make up your mind to resign but turn over a new leaf." At the same time Hone

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Minister ADACHI went to Finance Minister INOUE and advocated coalition, also. To which INOUE answered: "That will never do. There is no room whatsoever for thinking about it" and flung the matter aside. I heard later that ADACHI made a wry face and went home.

On the morning of the 11th, I went to the Premier's official residence at 11:00 o'clock and met Premier WAKATSUKI who said: "At the time the proposal for a coalition Cabinet was submitted by ADACHI on October 28, Japan's position was that of isolation from the League of Nations. For that and other reasons, I thought that a coalition might be better. Therefore, for two days I agreed with ADACHI's opinion on the coalition Cabinet. When I conferred with my most trustworthy Cabinet colleague INOUE, he definitely opposed it. ADACHI's plan was for me to resign and to put in my stead INUKAI. If I had agreed to this I would have been looked upon as one who tried to escape from difficulties. And it would be virtually necessary for me to proceed independently of the differences in the fundamental financial plans. So I refused ADACHI and decided to proceed independently. From about the 24th and 25th of last month, the group from the Minseitō, namely, TOMITA and his group, secretly conferred and exchanged opinions with KUHARA of the Seiyūkai Party. After TOMITA had said: "Since we have even prepared a memorandum for a coalition Cabinet, please agree to its realization", he said: "Hold an election." To which I replied: "I disagree" and got away. But thinking that TOMITA would cause trouble by spreading his opinion, I called a meeting yesterday, the 10th, of my Cabinet colleagues from the ranks of

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the party. All of them opposed the coalition except ADACHI. Towards the end I even got ADACHI to agree to stopping the coalition movement, but he said: "I can never alter my opinion." I had wanted to come to a decision but the Home Minister said: 'Since I will have to confer---' and went home, but he never returned. The other ministers waited for him to appear at the Premier's official residence until 3:30 A.M., but he never came back. Even when we wrote: 'Please attend the Cabinet meeting today at 10:00', he did not attend, saying he was fatigued. I am thinking of having him resign, for stability cannot be established if there are demurrers in the Cabinet, such as this one. In case the Home Minister does not resign we must resign en masse. Furthermore, since the Home Minister is not in attendance, saying he is ill, we must settle this matter somehow or other. Please speak of this matter to the Prince." I immediately reported the situation to the Home Minister and at 1:00 P.M., I boarded the train for Shizuoka.

At noon of the same day, the 11th, I had invited MATSUI, authority on military reduction, and Brig. Gen. TATEKAWA as guests of honor with KADONO, Chokuro, OMURA, Tokutaro, and also Viscount OKABE to Horyu, but upon receiving a request from OKAZAKI, Kunisuke for an audience, I invited him also. I had sponsored this party with the idea of taking the night train, but the situation not permitting, I asked someone to substitute in my stead as host and decided to leave at 1:00 P.M. OKAZAKI called me quietly to another room and said: "What I would like the Prince to consider is that it is not advisable for INUKAI to take the political reins.

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In spite of the fact that the Army has acted in an unruly manner the League of Nations has stuck by, and this is because of trust in SHIDEHARA. I think it desirable for SHIDEHARA to finish out this diplomatic relationship. Nevertheless, I think it very wise for WAKATSUKI to step down in order to save the situation. Please mention this to the Prince as my opinion."

I left on the 1:00 P.M. train and reached the Prince's residence at 5:00 P.M. and reported fully on the situation. The Prince said, "That's disturbing. It is unavoidable. I have given quite a bit of thought to this, but I cannot help but conclude to submit INUKAI to the Throne. However, it is unpleasant to see it looking like the underhanded machination of ADACHI and KUHARA, but I can present just ADACHI's resignation in view of that fact--- Or it is possible to think that the Cabinet may be reappointed after the Imperial sanction of ADACHI's resignation, but I still think it would be better to submit INUKAI's name to the Throne in this case. What's your opinion?"

This was the first time in the five times that the Cabinets had changed since I began working for him that he asked, "What do you think?" I replied, "Of course, I think INUKAI would be fine, but it would not be pleasant, from the standpoint of political morals if the KUHARA crowd ever succeeds in using their power to put over their kind of speculative and obstructionist plot. So I would do something to prevent KUHARA from being a member of the Cabinet. I think it necessary not to use them. In ADACHI's case, the Seiyukai may or may not exclude his name as a sort of punishment, but in KUHARA's

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case, he may seek a chance to come into power again in view of his alleged success, if we are not more careful."

When I had met the Home Minister at his residence that morning he had said: "Since it has become urgent, I wish Prince SAIONJI would return to Tokyo at once." While he spoke, the Grand Chamberlain entered and said: "Just now the Emperor asked me: 'According to the newspaper, there appears to be imminent danger of a political crisis, so please inform HARADA in case he is going to Okitsu to tell Prince SAIONJI, that I am sorry to ask him to do this in his old age, but he must make preparations to return to Tokyo.'"

Knowing beforehand that the Prince's blood pressure and health were bad, I pressed the point: "Because his health is impaired, he may not be able to come as directed," and came to Okitsu.

While I was conversing with the Prince, a phone call from KIDO came: "The Premier is at the court seeking permission to resign. The Home Minister and the Grand Chamberlain are requesting you to come to Tokyo as soon as possible. A courier is departing tonight with the Grand Chamberlain's note." The message being brought was in effect, a call from the Emperor. When I spoke to the Prince about the phone call, he said: "In this case, it will be better to proceed as soon as possible." So on the following day, the 11th, we boarded the 9:30 train and at 2:23 P.M. we reached Shimbashi and decided to appear at the Court at 3:00 P.M. Because the Prince said, "I am going to submit INUKAI, but I would like to hear beforehand if there is any opposition to this in the Imperial circle," I phoned KIDO and said:

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"I do not know for certain, but I feel that the Prince is going to reply to the Throne on an independent Cabinet of the Seiyukai. Will there be any strong opposition from the Imperial circle?" He replied that there seemed to be no opposition. He said: "Because of the grave situation, the Home Minister is greatly concerned about financial and diplomatic relations. Did you seek the opinion of the former Railroad Minister, HIGASHI, and Imperial Household Minister ICHIKI?" but not having especially heard from the, I said: "I don't know their views." He said: "Hint only to Finance Minister INOUE that it is just your feeling, but that it most likely will be INUKAI so that various matters can be taken care of before the resignation." I immediately made a phone call to Tokyo to INOUE in that vein.